

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 SAM-01 SAJ-01

ACDA-19 IO-14 NIC-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-11 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

DRC-01 /119 W

----- 121915

O 071040Z AUG 74

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0194

INFO AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 LISBON 3341

NOFORN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR SP PO PINT

SUBJ: DON JUAN REQUEST TO SEE U.S. CHARGE

REFS: (A) LISBON 3300; (B) MADRID 4927; (C) MADRID 4891;

(D) MADRID 3689

SUMMARY: DON JUAN ASKED TO SEE THE CHARGE IN ORDER TO

MAKE TWO POINTS CLEAR TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT:

1) HE DOES NOT INTEND TO MAKE TROUBLE OVER THE
SUCCESSION ISSUE AT THE TIME THE POSITION OF CHIEF
OF STATE PASSES PERMANENTLY FROM FRANCO TO JUAN CARLOS,
AND 2) HE DISASSOCIATES HIMSELF ENTIRELY FROM COMMUNISTS
AND FIRMLY ADVOCATES THAT SPAIN MAINTAIN ITS
COMMITMENT TO WESTERN COUNTRIES, INCLUDING ITS
BASE AGREEMENTS WITH THE UNITED STATES. IN THE COURSE
OF THE CONVERSATION DON JUAN GAVE SOME OF HIS VIEWS
ON CURRENT AND FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN SPAIN AND
ANNOUNCED HIS INTENTION TO OUTLINE HIS PROGRAM TO
HIS FELLOWS AT THE TIME JUAN CARLOS BECOMES
DEFINITELY CHIEF OF STATE. END SUMMARY.

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1. DON JUAN SAID THAT HE HAS ASKED TO SEE THE CHARGE
(HE ACTUALLY SAW ECON/COUNSELOR, CHARGE BEING IN OPORTO)
IN ORDER TO MAKE TWO POINTS CLEAR TO THE
U.S. GOVERNMENT: A. WHEN JUAN CARLOS BECOMES
PERMANENT CHIEF OF STATE, EITHER THROUGH THE
DEATH OF FRANCO OR BY PROCLAMATION BEFORE FRANCO
DIES, HE, DON JUAN, WILL TAKE NO ACTION REGARDING
SUCCESSION THAT COULD UPSET THE TRANSITION--PROVIDED
THAT THE GOVERNMENT INSTALLS A GENUINE DEMOCRACY
AND IS NOT A MERE CONTINUATION OF FRANCO'S AUTOCRATIC
REGIME. BY "GENUINE DEMOCRACY" HE MEANT INTER ALIA
ABOLITION OF CORTES AND FREELY ELECTED
PARLIAMENT. B. DON JUAN, REFERRING TO THE
"DEMOCRATIC JUNTA" ANNOUNCED IN PARIS ON JULY 29
(REF C), SAID HE WANTED TO DISASSOCIATE HIMSELF
COMPLETELY FROM THE COMMUNISTS BECAUSE THEY ARE
NOT DEMOCRATS AND NEVER WILL BE, ALTHOUGH THEY DO
TRY TO MANIPULATE DEMOCRACY TO PROMOTE THEIR OWN ENDS.
HE FIRMLY ADVOCATES THAT SPAIN MAINTAIN ITS
COMMITMENTS WITH WESTERN COUNTRIES, INCLUDING ITS
U.S. BASE AGREEMENT.

2. DURING THE ENSUING CONVERSATION DON JUAN
MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS: A. DON JUAN'S PROGRAM:
ASSERTING THAT HE HAS A STRONG FOLLOWING IN
SPAIN BECAUSE FOR 37 YEARS HE HAS CHAMPIONED
DEMOCRACY, DON JUAN STATED THAT A MONARCHY TODAY
CANNOT SURVIVE IF IT IS NOT DEMOCRATIC. AS SOON
AS JUAN CARLOS FULLY SUCCEEDS FRANCO AS CHIEF
OF STATE, DON JUAN SAID THAT HE PLANS TO SET
FORTH HIS (DON JUAN'S) PROGRAM IN A PUBLIC
DECLARATION TO HIS FOLLOWERS. HE HAD NOT DONE
SO ON JUNE 24, AS MANY HAD URGED (SEE REF D),
BECAUSE HE DID "NOT WISH TO BURN HIS CARTRIDGES";
I.E., HE WANTED TO SAVE IT FOR A TIME WHEN ITS
IMPACT WOULD BE GREATEST. DON JUAN DID NOT
REVEAL THE PROGRAM'S CONTENTS, WHICH HE IS
CURRENTLY WORKING ON, BUT INDICATED THAT IT WOULD
CONTAIN THE DEMOCRATIC REFORMS HE HAS SUPPORTED
ALL HIS LIFE. B. ABDICATION: DON JUAN SAID
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THAT NO ONE HAS EVER ASKED HIM TO ABDICATE AND
HE SAW NO REASON WHY THIS WOULD BE NECESSARY TO PROMOTE
HIS SON'S POSITION. "JUAN CARLOS", HE
SAID, "HAS BEEN NAMED TO BE CHIEF OF STATE,
AND ON THE MATTER OF ROYAL SUCCESSION, I DO NOT
INTEND TO BE A NUISANCE". DON JUAN STATED,
HOWEVER, THAT IF JUAN CARLOS SHOULD LET HIMSELF
BECOME A PART OF A REGIME THAT CARRIED ON UNCHANGED

IN THE FRANCO TRADITION, HE WOULD OPPOSE HIS SON AND CONSIDER THAT HIS GRANDSON WAS THE RIGHTFUL HEIR. C. CURRENT SITUATION: THE CURRENT "INTERREGNUM", ACCORDING TO DON JUAN, IS BAD AND SHOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO GO ON MUCH LONGER. HE FEELS THAT JUAN CARLOS IS STILL VERY MUCH UNDER THE TUTELAGE OF FRANCO AND FRANCO'S MEN, AS WITNESS JUAN CARLOS'S ASSENT TO PRESIDE OVER HIS FIRST COUNCIL OF MINISTER'S MEETING IN FRANCO'S PALACE INSTEAD OF THE ROYAL PALACE. "IF I WERE MY SON", DON JUAN SAID, "I WOULD HAVE INSISTED THAT THE MEETING BE HELD AT THE ROYAL PALACE, AND I PLAN TO TELL HIM SO WHEN HE CALLS". (DON JUAN WAS EXPECTING A CALL ANY MOMENT FROM JUAN CARLOS). DON JUAN BELIEVES THAT SPAIN IN FACT HAS ALREADY ENTERED THE POST-FRANCO PERIOD. HE HAS RECEIVED RELIABLE REPORTS, INCLUDING ONE FROM FRANCO'S NEPHEW NICOLAS WHO VISITED HIM LAST WEEK, THAT FRANCO CANNOT SURVIVE BEYOND CHRISTMAS AT THE LATEST. D. LIBERALIZATION IN THE POST-FRANCO ERA:

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 SAM-01 ACDA-19

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FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0195

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 LISBON 3341

NOFORN

DON JUAN EXPECTS THAT AFTER FRANCO THERE WILL BE LIBERALIZATION BUT AT A SLOWER PACE THAN HE WOULD

DESIRE INASMUCH AS THE EXISTING ESTABLISHMENT
IS VERY STRONG AND RELUCTANT TO ACCEPT CHANGE.
THIS ARMY, FOR EXAMPLE, IS VERY STRONG, WITH THE
COLONELS AND THE GENERALS FIRMLY IDENTIFIED WITH
THE PRESENT REGIME. ALTHOUGH SOME SENIOR OFFICERS
AND MOST OF THE LOWER-LEVEL OFFICERS WOULD
LIKE "THINGS TO OPEN UP A BIT", DON JUAN DOUBTED
THAT THEY WOULD FIND OR DEVELOP THE LEADERSHIP
REQUIRED FOR AN OPPOSITION MOVEMENT. E. CALVO SERER
AND THE DEMOCRATIC JUNTA: WHILE DON JUAN WANTED
TO MAKE IT PERFECTLY CLEAR THAT HE HAD NOTHING TO
DO WITH SERER'S MOVE TO JOIN WITH THE SPANISH
COMMUNISTS IN ANNOUNCING THE FORMATION OF A
DEMOCRATIC JUNTA, HE DID NOT SEEM DISTURBED OR
HURT BY SERER'S ACTION. HE DESCRIBED SERER AS
A LONG-TIME FRIEND AND EXCUSED HIM BY SAYING THAT
"HE WAS A MAN WHO WILL TALK TO ANYBODY" AND A MAN
PRONE TO "TAKE EXPEDIENT ACTIONS". DON JUAN SAID
HE HAD READ THE JUNTA'S PROGRAM, MUCH OF WHICH
SEEMED GOOD TO HIM, BUT HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT
THE COMMUNISTS REALLY SUBSCRIBED TO ALL OF THE
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POINTS.

3. DON JUAN STRESSED THAT THE TWO POINTS MADE IN
PARA 1 ABOVE WERE FOR U.S. GOVERNMENT EARS ONLY
AND THAT HE HAD NO INTENTION OF MAKING THEM PUBLIC.
HIS REASONS FOR CONVEYING THESE POINTS TO THE
USG AT THIS TIME WERE THAT JUAN CARLOS COULD
AT ANY MOMENT PERMANENTLY SUCCEED FRANCO AS CHIEF
OF STATE AND THAT THE ANNOUNCEMENT FROM PARIS
OF A DEMOCRATIC JUNTA MIGHT HAVE LED THE USG
TO BELIEVE THAT DON JUAN HAD ENTERED INTO AN
AGREEMENT WITH THE SPANISH COMMUNISTS.

4. COMMENT: DON JUAN'S WORDS AND TONE OF VOICE
CONVEYED THE IMPRESSION THAT HE WILL SINCERELY
SUPPORT HIS SON IF JUAN CARLOS WILL FOLLOW THE KIND
OF IDEAS THAT DON JUAN ESPOUSES. REGARDING ABDICATION,
HOWEVER, DON JUAN GAVE NO INDICATION THAT HE
WOULD TAKE SUCH A STEP OR THOUGHT THAT SUCH
A STEP WAS NEEDED TO SMOOTH JUAN CARLOS' WAY.
A FORMER U.S. GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL, WHO NOW
RESIDES IN PORTUGAL AND KNOWS DON JUAN WELL, DOES
NOT BELIEVE THAT HE WILL ABDICATE UNLESS LACK
OF LEGITIMACY HAMPERS HIS SON'S ABILITY TO CARRY OUT
NEEDED REFORMS.

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